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CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION,
HELD IN THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON CITY, MAY 4th, 1842.

(MOST IMPORTANT MEETING.)

THIS Convention assembled at half past 7 o'clock in the evening of the 4th of May, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, the use of which had been granted by the House for the occasion. The Hon. Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky, was unanimously chosen to preside, and Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq., appointed Secretary.

The Rev. William Hawley invoked the divine blessing upon the proceedings. Mr. Gurley, the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, rose and in effect said :—

MR. PRESIDENT :—At the request of the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, I venture to submit to this Convention, a few remarks touching the objects which may be deemed worthy of the consideration of this Convention. I regret that this duty has not devolved upon some one abler to do justice to the cause we have assembled to promote. But apologies on this occasion are perhaps worse than impertinent, and I shall at once say, that we are called upon to give our best thoughts and energies to advance a scheme of vast magnitude and deepest interest to our free colored population, to such as may become free, to our national Union, and to Africa ; which embraces in its promised beneficence two races of men, and two continents. Sir, the fathers of the Society never imagined that this scheme could be carried into complete effect—I doubt even whether they anticipated the results which have been already attained, without the countenance and co-operation of the General Government and the State Governments. The American Colonization Society, at its origin, presented a memorial to Congress in which they say, “ Your memorialists are delegated by a numerous and highly respectable association of their fellow citi-

zens, recently organized at the seat of Government *to solicit Congress to aid with the power, the patronage and the resources of the country, the great and beneficial object of their institution, an object deemed worthy of the earnest attention, and of the strenuous and persevering exertions, as well of every patriot, in whatever condition of life, as of every enlightened, philanthropic, and practical statesman.*"

A report favorable to the views of the memorialists was made by a Committee of that body, but no decided action taken upon the subject. Similar memorials for several successive years were addressed by the Society to Congress, and to the very able exertions in the House of Representatives of one of its earliest, most liberal and most distinguished friends, the Hon. C. F. Mercer, is our country and the world indebted for the passage of a law stigmatizing the slave trade with the name and penalty of piracy, and also for the act revoking forever the authority of any State to dispose of re-captured Africans brought within the limits of our country, and empowering the President of the United States to restore such unfortunate persons to Africa, and there provide, while it might be necessary, for their security, comfort and defence. Mr. Monroe, then President, saw at once that in the execution of this law, it might be for the public interest, to co-operate with the American Colonization Society, then about to secure territory on the African coast, and the spot obtained for a Colony, was chosen to be the home of the re-captured Africans. Thus the Colony of Liberia rose into existence under the countenance of the Government, and as an asylum for Africans released from captivity by our law, derived from it some degree of protection and aid. But the earliest and ablest friends of the Society sought and expected still further assistance. I need but refer to the published opinions of General Harper, Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. Madison, Chief Justice Marshall, and others. I fear the magnitude, the grandeur of the cause, has been of late somewhat let down from the high position it occupied before the eyes of the founders of the Society, but I trust it will be permitted to re-assume, before the mind of this Convention, all its original importance and beneficence.

Much has been accomplished. But it must be acknowledged that the communities of Liberia are encountering many adverse influences, that they want numbers and capital, are exposed to the interference of traders of foreign nations, and that they turn anxiously their eyes towards us for encouragement. And is it to be expected, that these people, who, a few years ago, landed on the barbarous shore of Africa, with little or no property, just escaped from a depressed and embarrassed condition—an unsubdued forest before them, in an untried tropical climate, and exposed to the depredations, and sometimes to the hostilities of wild and faithless men, should have effected all that is necessary in their great enterprise—that they should have spread out all along that coast and far into the interior, the beauties and advantages of our arts, civilization and religion? Sir, they have done every thing which could with reason have been expected of them—their well ordered Government; their schools, churches; their manifest improvement in education, morals, manners; their enthusiasm for liberty; hostility and success against the slave trade, demonstrate that they constitute a well organized state, in its infancy, it is true; but informed by a generous and noble spirit, and that if protected and sustained as they should be, they will infuse new life into the throbbing heart of Africa and work out for her perishing children a mighty

deliverancé. It is not my purpose to enter into the subjects which may and will receive the earnest attention of this Convention. There is some danger, that unless this nation can be duly aroused to the importance of guarding the interests of our African settlements, they may feel impelled to look for assistance to other quarters. I will not for a moment believe that this Convention will withhold from the colonists of Liberia their sympathy and support. I am happy to see before me many of the faithful and able friends of this cause, and I rejoice to observe that we are favored by the presence of one (Dr. Hall) who has long resided upon the coast and in the Colonies of Liberia, who is familiar with the whole condition of things there, who has won honorable and imperishable distinction; by the wisdom and energy exhibited in his establishment of the Colony of Cape Palmas, and his administration, as the Governor of its affairs. I trust that this gentleman will not withhold from us the benefit of his experience and his counsels. I see also several eminent senators around me, friends of our enterprise, and whose talent and eloquence will be felt to the remotest regions of the republic; and some of the fathers of the American Colonization Society are present who may well remember the days of its first trials, and to whom it was indebted for exertions, which will be the more appreciated as they are the more remembered. I will add, only, that a series of resolutions, which I venture very respectfully to submit to the Convention have met the approbation of the Committee of the Colonization Society and of other friends of that Institution, and are offered mainly, with the view, of bringing immediately under the observation of the meeting, such topics as may be deemed worthy of its consideration.

Mr. Gurley then offered the following resolutions:—

“*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention, the American Colonization Society, like our Federal Union, rests upon principles in which all wise, patriotic and benevolent men may agree, and by the support of which, they promote the good of our common country, the best interests of our colored population, the suppression of the African slave trade, and the moral and intellectual renovation of Africa.

“*Resolved*, That this Society, in the prosecution of its exclusive object, the colonization with their consent of the free people of color, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient, being required by the terms of its constitution, to act in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the states as may adopt regulations on the subject, was designed to be a national institution, and may justly look for some measure of countenance and support, from the Federal and other Governments of the country.

“*Resolved*, That the results contemplated in the execution of their scheme by the fathers of the American Colonization Society, were of unsurpassed grandeur and beneficence, and that the success of their efforts in the establishment, mostly by private means, of the Colony of Liberia, is demonstration that these results can be, and therefore ought to be, by the application of adequate powers and resources, attained.

“*Resolved*, That the members and friends of the Colonization Society are solemnly pledged before earth and Heaven not to abandon in their weakness, those free persons of color who, confidently, under their auspices, have gone forth, in the face of difficulty and danger, to plant upon the barbarous shore of their mother country liberty and Christianity, but rather to

extend to them assistance and encouragement in their honorable and unanimous enterprise.

“Resolved, That at this time, when our country is agitated by conflicting opinions on the subject of our colored population; when Africa is deprived annually, by the most cruel commerce of nearly or quite half a million of her inhabitants; when thousands are turning their thoughts and hearts to Liberia as a small and attractive Christian state, looking forth to animate our hopes of the redemption of the most degraded and afflicted portion of the world; when this Colony is exposed to danger, if not threatened with extinction, we are urged by the highest and most affecting considerations that ever roused patriotic and Christian men to action, to adopt a national policy, that shall tend to unite our own citizens, benefit our colored population, overthrow the slave trade, and bless enduringly, two races of men, and two of the largest quarters of the globe.

“Resolved, That this convention are deeply sensible of the favor shown to the Colony of Liberia, by the successive administrations of our government, and that they doubt not, the whole country will sustain the Government in the maintenance of such naval force, and the application of such means on the African coast, as may be necessary to guard our commerce (already becoming of great value) on that coast, fulfil all the humane provisions of the law for the benefit of the recaptured Africans, and effectually suppress the African slave trade.

“Resolved, That it should be deeply impressed upon the public mind, that both as auxiliary and protective to the interests of American commerce on the African coast, and as a means for the extinction of the slave trade, the Colony of Liberia is of incalculable importance, and deserves the vigorous and generous support of this nation.

“Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the Friends of African Colonization throughout the Union to call Conventions in their respective States for the advancement of the cause, and to increase the funds of the Society.

“Resolved, That it be recommended to the Directors of the American Colonization Society, to consider the propriety of appointing a well qualified agent or agents to visit the different States to promote the assembling of such Conventions, and to communicate to them the interesting facts in relation to the condition and prospects of the Society and the Colony.

“Resolved, That the gallant officers of our navy, who have repeatedly, rendered such important services to the cause of African Colonization and the Colonies or settlements of Liberia, are entitled to the warmest thanks of all the friends of our country and humanity.

“Resolved, That since the cause of the American Colonization Society contributes emphatically, and powerfully, to establish and propagate civilization and Christianity in Africa, it should be dear to all the friends of missions, and since to meet numerous applications of interesting companies of free coloured persons and liberated slaves for removal to Liberia, the Society has chartered a large ship and assumed heavy responsibilities, far beyond its means, for the outfit of an expedition, of more than two hundred emigrants, all the friends of the Society be invited to send in their donations to its Treasury, and the clergy of every name to take up collections for it on or about the 4th of July next.”

F. S. Key, Esq., then introduced to the Convention Dr. James Hall, who.

he observed, after a residence of several years in Africa, and having been the Governor of the Colony at Cape Palmas, in its earliest and most trying years, and personally acquainted with the native tribes for a good distance in the interior, as well as extensively along the coast, with the commerce of Africa, and the details of the slave trade, and whose sound judgment and sagacity all who knew him would acknowledge, was prepared to communicate information of the highest value to the friends of the cause.

[Dr. Hall has done us the favor to put in writing the following statement, as comprising the principal facts and opinions offered in reply to various interrogatories propounded by Mr. Key at this time, and by other gentlemen during the progress of the Convention :]

DR. HALL'S STATEMENT.

With regard to the African commerce. Dr. Hall said, that the legitimate commerce on the west coast of Africa was now principally in the hands of the English, and mainly from the following causes, viz: The slave trade previous to the last half century was prosecuted more vigorously by the English under the special patronage of government than by any other nation. Possession was taken of a vast extent of coast and forts and fortifications were erected for the special protection of this traffic by their commercial vessels; consequently at the abolition of this traffic they had far greater facilities for prosecuting a lawful and honorable commerce than other nations. The principal articles too used in this traffic were either produced or manufactured in England or in their India possessions, which gave them, for a time, almost exclusive control over the lawful commerce as they had before maintained over the slave trade. Why they retain this ascendancy is in some degree doubtless attributable to the fact that there is a greater demand for articles of African produce in England than in any other part of the world: that London is the great centre of commerce and that there is more capital in England to be invested in commerce than in any other country. But there is another cause independent of these which has operated strongly to secure to the English merchant a monopoly of this trade. I refer to the fact that their commerce has been fostered and protected to a greater extent than that of any other nation. They have uniformly maintained a force on that coast amply sufficient to render their commerce as secure in Africa as in any section of the civilized world. They in, fact, have had the absolute control of the commercial relations of the whole coast. The vessels of other nations have been often necessitated to seek their protection, and which has, to my knowledge, often been granted. The effects of this protection have not been alone to preserve their vessels from violence from the natives and pirates, and to relieve sufferers by wrecks, sickness and other disasters, but from the system of trade adopted by them, a safe return for money invested in that trade by English vessels has been secured, and that too by a system of protection that has not been extended to the commerce of any other nation to any thing like the same extent and to American commerce, not all. In the large marts of trade, as in the great rivers of the Bights of Benin and Biafra the whole cargo of a vessel is at once put on shore into the hands of the native chiefs and trademen and to the honor of barbarians alone, the owner of any other

vessel but an English one, is dependent for his return cargo. The amount he receives will depend altogether upon the will of the chiefs and traders and generally just so far as they shall deem it for their interest to make payment to secure a continuance of the master's trade or to maintain a fair reputation, so far they will fulfil their contract, and but too often no further.

But the case is far otherwise with the British trader. Every port, bay, river or roadstead has been visited and is often visited by a Government vessel, and with the chief and head-trade-men of every tribe, treaties of commerce, more or less definite, have been made, and the fulfilment of the same is to a greater or less extent enforced. In most instances no force, or even a call for it, is necessary, as the bare fact of its existence is equally efficient with its exercise. It is needless to remark that the American commerce has received no such protection, that but a very small part of the coast has ever been visited by any American vessel of war, and in no instance coming to my knowledge, has any intercourse taken place between them and the native chiefs. No American influence has, to my knowledge, operated to increase, foster or protect the American commerce in Africa, except through the agency of the Colonization Societies, and through them, the colonies of Liberia. The very founding of these colonies embracing within their influence a coast of some three hundred miles has opened to us a commerce which was before wholly monopolized by European trading vessels and the slave dealers.

Not only do the energetic and intelligent colonists vastly increase the exports of their little territory, concentrate the trade of the surrounding country, carry on open, fair and liberal commerce with vessels of all nations, but the colonies are a refuge and home to the American citizen visiting that coast from what cause soever. They serve as regular ports of entry and clearance where all important mercantile papers, so essential in commercial operations, can be obtained. They serve as hospitals for the sick and invalid seamen who have ascended the baleful rivers on that coast. Again and again have I seen vessels steered into Messurado roads by a native Krooman under the direction of the last surviving officer or seaman of a vessel which has ventured up the Rio Pongas or Nunos, and which, had it not been for these colonies, would inevitably have been dismantled by the natives and left to rot in their muddy creeks.

In cases of partial damage or total wreck, when for want of those Colonies, the crews would fall a sacrifice to the African fever and the rough treatment of the natives; and when the voyage would be materially retarded, or entirely broken up, the Colonies have furnished a home for the unfortunate officers and seamen, and enabled the master to execute such documents as would secure insurance to the owner, or afforded such aid as to fit the vessel for the further prosecution of her voyage. In fact the American Colonies have, more than all other causes, protected and fostered our commerce on the African coast.

With regard to the influence of the Colonies upon the missionary operations, I can answer, that it is equally favorable and still more essential. It is a fact that there has been a vast expenditure of life and money by the missionary societies of Great Britain to establish missions in the various towns far to the windward of Sierra Leone, and every attempt, without exception, has proved a failure. The attempt has not been a solitary one but

renewed from time to time for a period of years, and always with the same unhappy result. We can judge from this what would have been the inevitable consequence of the like attempt by American agents on the coast line now occupied by the Colonies of Liberia, when the natives were far more barbarous, and less inclined to improvement. I am confirmed that they would have been attended with like disasters. The advantages which the mission stations derive from the Colonies are manifold, and must be obvious to every one.

In the first place their protection was absolutely necessary to the existence of the mission, to defend it from petty depredations and violence—as for instance, the recent transactions at Heddington—there all the comforts and necessities of life are alone secured by and through the labors of the Colonists. By these their houses are built and rendered tenantable; their services are always required in all domestic duties, even in health, and in sickness their services and assistance are indispensable. Independent of all this, *the most important, the most useful and most successful preachers and teachers in all the mission stations in Africa are the Colonists themselves, under the superintendence of the white missionaries.* Colored men are the most useful and most efficient laborers in any cause or calling in Africa; with a less amount of intelligence and talent than the white man they can effect more.

In answer to your queries as to the capabilities of the Africo-American for self-government, and the fitness of the territory of Liberia for the establishment of a civilized and self-supporting community: I feel it only necessary to state in general terms what are my *thorough convictions* from an intimate acquaintance with all the Liberia Colonies for the past eleven years, and for facts tending to show the correctness of my impressions I refer you to the details and statistics of the Colonies which have from time to time been transmitted to this country and laid before the American public.

The Liberians have shown a capacity for maintaining a free and independent government, a capacity and disposition for a fair degree of moral and intellectual improvement. The soil of Liberia is one of the most productive in the world, and capable of yielding all the varieties of vegetables and all the staple commodities of the tropics. the climate of Africa is one that will prove as favorable to the American emigrant as does the climate of our Western States to the New Englander. In fine, all that is wanting to favor and perpetuate on the coast of Africa an independent Christian government is an increase of the number of *select* emigrants, an increase for a certain period of the appropriation to each individual on his arrival, and a general protection from the government of this country. But without these advantages carried out to a much greater extent than heretofore, I am equally well convinced that the Colonies at present established on the coast will not be able to maintain themselves against the various adverse influences which are constantly operating against them; they will either be swallowed up in the mass of barbarians by whom they are surrounded or they will claim and receive the patronage and protection of the English government.

The Hon. JAMES T. MOREHEAD, senator from Kentucky, then addressed the Convention:

I am apprehensive, Mr. President, that I venture somewhat rashly to present myself on this occasion before you. My attention has not of late, been directed with

much care to the operations of your Society, and it is probable that what I have to say will be neither interesting nor profitable. Yielding, however, to no one in the high estimate I have formed of the value and importance of the Colonization scheme, and believing that upon its success depends much that concerns the well being of the free colored population of our country, I avail myself willingly of this occasion to express, in the most public manner, my cordial concurrence in the objects you have in view, and my ardent solicitude for their advancement.

At a very early period in the history of our government, the subject of colonizing the free people of color of the United States became one of deep and profound interest. To the state of Virginia, more perhaps than to any other, belongs the merit of having made the greatest efforts in behalf of that peculiar portion of the colored race. On the 31st December, 1800, the House of Delegates of that State passed a resolution, requesting the Governor to correspond with the President of the United States on the subject of purchasing land without the limits of the Commonwealth, whither free persons of color might be removed, which led to a correspondence between Mr. Monroe and Mr. Jefferson, the result of which was, as we are informed by the latter, that an ineffectual negotiation was instituted by our minister in London, with the Sierra Leone company. A similar effort, with no better success, was made by Mr. Jefferson with the Portuguese government to obtain an establishment within their colonies in South America.

Fifteen years afterwards, on the 21st December, 1816, the General Assembly of Virginia again took the subject in hand, and resolved that the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory upon the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as were then free and might desire the same, and for those who might be thereafter emancipated within that commonwealth; and her senators and representatives in Congress were requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President in the attainment of the object.

There cannot be a doubt that this movement on the part of Virginia, exerted a preponderating influence in producing the subsequent organization of the American Colonization Society. But it is due to the memory of a philanthropic citizen of New Jersey, that his instrumentality in the promotion of that object should be distinctly acknowledged. You are aware, sir, that I allude to the Reverend Robert Finley, whose name is so closely interwoven with the early history of your institution. For a series of years, "the state of the *free blacks* in the United States, had very much occupied the mind" of that pious and venerable gentleman; and on the 14th February, 1815, he announced in a letter to a friend in the city of New York, the subsisting plan of colonization on the African coast. Other friends of the cause,—and as we have seen, the illustrious commonwealth of Virginia,—had placed their chief reliance on the powerful agency of the Federal Government. Mr. Finley took a different, and as the result shows, a more practicable view. "Cannot the rich and benevolent," he enquired, "devise means to form a colony on some part of the coast of Africa, similar to the one at Sierra Leone, which might gradually induce many free blacks to go and settle,—devising for them means of getting there, and of protection and support till they are established? Could they be sent to Africa, a three-fold benefit would arise. We should be cleared of them. We should send to Africa a population partly civilized and christianized for its benefit. Our blacks themselves would be put in a better condition."

Animated with the hope of accomplishing an object of such vast importance, Mr. Finley visited Washington about the 1st December 1816. He opened the subject to the President of the United States—to the heads of Departments—to several members

of Congress, and to some prominent private citizens, and proposed a meeting of those who were favorably disposed towards the scheme. On the 21st December a meeting accordingly took place, over which Mr. Clay, then the Speaker of the House of Representatives, was called to preside. Addresses were delivered by several distinguished gentlemen,* and resolutions, preceded by an appropriate preamble, were unanimously passed, declaring, First, That an association be formed for the purpose of collecting information, and to assist in the formation and execution, of a plan for the Colonization of the free people of color with their consent, in Africa or elsewhere, as may be thought most advisable by the constituted authorities of the country—Secondly, That Elias B. Caldwell, John Randolph, Richard Rush, Walter Jones, Francis S. Key, Robert Wright, James H. Blake, and John Peter, be a Committee to present a respectful memorial to Congress, requesting them to adopt such measures as may be thought advisable for procuring a territory in Africa or elsewhere, suitable for the Colonization of the free people of color.

After the appointment of a Committee to prepare a constitution for the government of the Society, the meeting adjourned to the 23th December following.

On that day, the minutes of their proceedings inform us, “an adjourned meeting of

* Mr. Clay, (on taking the chair,) stated the object of the meeting to be, to consider of the propriety and practicability of colonizing the free people of color of the United States, and of forming an association in relation to that object.

“In regard to the various schemes of Colonization, which had been suggested, he expressed a decided preference to some part of the coast of Africa. *There* ample provisions might be made for the colony itself, and it might be rendered instrumental to the introduction, into that extensive quarter of the globe, of the arts, civilization and christianity. There was a peculiar, a moral fitness in restoring them to the land of their fathers.”

“It was proper and necessary, he said, distinctly to state, that he understood it constituted no part of the object of the meeting to touch or agitate in the slightest degree, a delicate question connected with another portion of the colored population of our country. It was not proposed to deliberate on or consider at all, any question of emancipation, or that was connected with the abolition of slavery. It was upon that condition alone, he was sure, that many gentlemen from the South and West, whom he saw present, had attended, or could be expected to co-operate.”

Mr. Elias B. Caldwell, (of the District of Columbia,) then rose, and enforced in some very eloquent observations, first, the expediency, and secondly, the practicability of the proposed plan of Colonization. He was followed by

Mr. John Randolph, (of Roanoke) who said, “that it had been properly observed by the Chairman, that there was nothing in the proposition (referring to the resolution adopted by the meeting,) submitted to consideration, which in the smallest degree touched another very important and delicate question, which ought to be left as much as possible out of view.” “It was a notorious fact, he added, that the existence of a mixed and intermediate population of free negroes was viewed by every slave holder as one of the greatest sources of the insecurity, and also unprofitableness, of slave property.” “In a worldly point of view, then, without entering into the general question, and apart from those higher and nobler motives which had been presented to the meeting, the owners of slaves were interested in providing a retreat for this part of our population. There was no fear that this proposition would alarm them—they had been accustomed to think seriously of the subject.” “If a place could be provided for their reception and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands of citizens, who would by manumitting their slaves, relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession.”

Mr. Robert Wright, (of Maryland) said, “that he could not withhold his approbation of a measure, that had for its object the melioration of the lot of any portion of the human race, particularly of the free people of color, whose distressed state robs them of the happiness of self-government, so dear to the American people. And, said he, as I discover the most delicate regard to the rights of property, I shall with great pleasure lend my aid to restore this unfortunate people to the enjoyment of their liberty.”

the citizens of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, and many others, was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, for the purpose of receiving and considering from the Committees appointed to that duty, a constitution of the Society for meliorating the condition of the free people of color in the United States, by providing a colonial retreat on this or the continent of Africa; and a memorial to Congress requesting the sanction and co-operation of the General Government in the object of the institution aforesaid. A constitution was reported, and having been discussed and amended, was unanimously accepted.

On the 1st January, 1817, the first election of officers under the Constitution, took place, when the Hon. Bushrod Washington, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, was unanimously chosen President, and William H. Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, William Phillips of Massachusetts, Henry Rutgers of New York, John E. Howard, Samuel Smith, and John C. Herbert of Maryland, John Taylor of Caroline, Virginia, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Robert Ralston and Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, John Mason of the District of Columbia, and Robert Finley of New Jersey, were appointed Vice Presidents.

Such, sir, was the origin of the American Society for colonizing the free people of color in the United States. Before tracing its progress to the period of the establishment of the Colony of Liberia, I trust I may be excused for calling your attention to some material and important circumstances, connected with the proceedings of these original friends and advocates of the cause.

The second article of the Constitution declared that the object to which the attention of the Society was exclusively to be directed was, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa or such other place as *Congress shall deem most expedient*.

It will not have escaped your observation, that at the meeting of the 21st December, a Committee was appointed by unanimous consent, to prepare a memorial to Congress requesting them to adopt such measures as might be thought most advisable for procuring a territory in Africa or elsewhere, suitable to the purpose of the association.

On the 28th December that Committee was instructed to report to the annual meeting in January next, when the President and Board of Managers were required to prepare and present the memorial. On the 14th January, 1817, it was presented to the House of Representatives.

The memorialists stated, that "they were delegated by a numerous and highly respectable association of their fellow citizens, recently organized at the seat of Government, to solicit Congress to aid with the power, the patronage and the resources of the country, the great and beneficial object of their institution;" and they concluded their memorial by praying Congress, "that the subject might be recommended to their serious consideration; and that as *an humble auxiliary* in the great work, the association represented by them, might be permitted to aspire to the hope of contributing its labors and its resources."

From the whole tenor of these proceedings it is abundantly manifest, that no question was raised—that no doubt was then entertained, as to the constitutional power of Congress to interpose for the establishment, the support and the protection of the proposed Colony.

The memorial, having been read and ordered to be printed, was referred to the Committee on the slave trade, which was composed of members from different States.

On the 11th February, the Committee reported a joint resolution, approving the views of the memorialists, and asserting the power of Congress over the whole subject. The President of the United States was authorized to enter into a Convention with the Gov-

ernment of Great Britain for receiving into the colony of Sierra Leone, such of the free people of color of the United States as might consent to be carried thither; and in the event that such an arrangement should be impracticable, to obtain from Great Britain and other maritime powers, a stipulation guaranteeing a permanent neutrality for any colony of free people of color that might, at the expense and under the auspices of the United States, be established on the African coast. They resolved also, that adequate provisions should thereafter be made to defray any necessary expenses that might be incurred in carrying the preceding resolution into effect.

The lateness of the period at which the report was made, prevented any definite action by the House. Congress adjourned on the 4th of the ensuing March.

At the next session the memorial of the Society was again referred to a select committee of the House of Representatives; and on the 18th of April, 1818, another report was made, which proposed the adoption of a resolution, declaring "That the President of the United States be requested to take such measures as he might deem proper, to ascertain whether a suitable territory can be procured on the coast of Africa, for colonizing such of the free people of color as might be willing to avail themselves of such an asylum, and to enter into such a negotiation with the native tribes of Africa, or with one or more of the governments of Europe as might be necessary to obtain such territory, and to secure to the contemplated colony every advantage, which he might deem essential to its future independence and prosperity."

I do not find that this resolution of the Committee was ever disposed of by the House; nor is it material to any purpose I have in view in referring to it. My object is to awaken attention to opinions, that prevailed contemporaneously with the organization of the Society, on the question of the authority of Congress to aid in the transportation of our free colored population. It would not be difficult, if it were important, to show, that the Government of the United States did, at a subsequent period, by co-operating with the Society in the restoration of a party of re-captured Africans to the shores of their native land, materially and without disguise, subserve the interests of the Colony.

Pending the movements which were thus making in the national legislature, the Society itself was not inactive. Agents were dispatched, at its own expense, to survey the coast of Africa, and to select a place for the reception of emigrants. Notwithstanding the lamented death of one of the agents, the mission was eminently satisfactory. No doubt was left of the practicability of procuring a suitable territory, on terms more advantageous than had been anticipated. The Society proceeded, by the employment of its own resources, to make arrangements for the consummation of its designs, and in the early part of the year 1820, the first emigrants to Liberia embarked at New York.

Twenty years have elapsed, Mr. President, since the Colony of Liberia was planted. It has outlived the embarrassments and perils of a first establishment, and its present flourishing condition furnishes conclusive and gratifying proof of the stability of its institutions and the wisdom and benevolence of its founders. For want of more recent information of sufficient exactness to be implicitly relied on, I avail myself of a publication made in 1838, by one whose character gives assurance of the authenticity of the statements contained in it—I mean the late Governor Buchanan, whose untimely death may well be regarded as a national calamity.

The territory of Liberia extends three hundred miles along the coast of Africa, and from ten to forty miles into the interior.

It contains four separate colonies: *MONROVIA*, which was established by the American Colonization Society, and includes the villages of *Monrovia*, *New Georgia*, *Caldwell*, *Millsburg* and *Marshall*.

BASSA COVE—Established under the auspices of the united Colonization Societies of New York and Pennsylvania. The towns of *Bassa Cove* and *Edina* are in this Colony.

GREENVILLE—Established by the Mississippi and Louisiana Colonization Societies at *Sinou*; and

MARYLAND—Established by the Colonization Society of Maryland at Cape Palmas.

These colonies contained in 1838 a population of about five thousand, all colored persons, of which three thousand five hundred were emigrants from the United States, and the remainder native Africans, who attached themselves voluntarily to the colonies, and became subject to their laws.

The commerce of the several colonies is already respectable. The exports were estimated, during the year before mentioned, to between 80 and 125,000 dollars, in camwood, ivory, palm oil, and hides; and the imports to an equal or greater amount.

The schools are abundant and facilities of education accessible to all.

At Bassa Cove and Monrovia are public libraries—the former of which contains twelve or fifteen hundred volumes.

The militia is well organized, and has proved itself adequate to the defence of the colonies from the incursions of the adjacent native tribes.

Two newspapers are now published at Monrovia, the editor of one of which is a colored man of more than ordinary intelligence.

The Government of Liberia is essentially republican. The Governor is appointed by the Society. His powers are defined by the constitution and laws. The Vice Governor, Secretary, Register, Treasurer, Legislative Councillors, Sheriffs and Constables are chosen by the people. The elections are held annually in every village, and are conducted with great propriety and decorum.

The Judiciary consists of the Governor and a competent number of justices of the peace, appointed by him. Their jurisdiction extends to cases affecting the peace, and to all actions of debt not exceeding twenty dollars.

In the courts of monthly sessions, whether acting as courts of law or chancery, the Governor or Vice Governor presides, and the justices are his associates. They have appellate jurisdiction in all cases whatever.

In this manner justice is impartially administered. The rights of life, liberty, and property are secure under the laws, and the colonists are satisfied with their administration.

It may be added that the affairs of the Colony of Maryland are governed by a separate constitution, and a code of laws framed by the Colonization Society of Maryland.

I hope I have not fatigued you with these details.

And now, sir, I have to ask, what does all this signify, and to what does it tend?

Who does not look back upon the origin and progress of these infant colonies with profound astonishment that so much has been accomplished; and forward to their future destiny with intense interest and solicitude? Who will gainsay, with such an array of facts before him, that it may be reserved for the slave holders of the United States to become glorious instruments for the restoration of a people buried in ignorance and barbarism—for the illumination of a continent shrouded in the darkness of accumulated centuries? Who knows that future generations of ransomed Africa may not point to the slave trodden soil of the new world of the West, as the soil from which sprung the germ of their long lost civilization and happiness? Who can tell that in the course of human events—in the wonderful dispensations of that Being whose ways are past find-

ing out—the history of His chosen people—the wretchedness of their captivity, and the glory of their deliverance, may not pre-figure the captivity, the deliverance, the elevation of another race of bondmen from a condition no less abject, to a pre-eminence in civilization and religion no less distinguished?

The first persuasive indication that such anticipations are not wholly visionary, consists in the fact, that the first *efficient* measure for the abolition of the slave trade was the act of an American Congress, originating from the policy, sustained by the eloquence, passed by the co-operation of American slave holders.

Sir, enlightened public opinion both in Europe and America has concurred in the truth of the proposition, that the African slave trade is the infamous cause of African degradation. I shall not stop to discuss that proposition now: nor shall I do more than refer to the distinguished efforts of Wilberforce and Pitt and Fox and Sheridan and their associates in the British House of Commons, to extirpate a traffic so sanguinary and cruel, so perfidious and mercenary, as to shock every sentiment of humanity, and outrage every principle of justice and honor, recognized among men. Acknowledging, however, as I do, the tribute which in common with the civilized world, I owe to those illustrious men, I cannot repress the feelings of patriotic exultation when I look to the position which my own country occupies. While session after session of the British Parliament, for more than a quarter of a century, the eloquence of these champions of humanity and of truth were met and repelled by the argument, that the abolition of the slave trade would result in “great and serious mischief to the British West India plantations”—“to the ruin of individuals” and “to the diminution of the supplies of the kingdom,”—the Congress of the United States, not only availed itself of the first moments of the existence of its constitutional power over the subject, but in its eagerness to assert it, anticipated its power, to denounce and punish the horrid trade. It is known that the period assigned by the federal constitution for the exercise of that power was the year 1808. In his annual message of the 2d December, 1806, Mr. Jefferson “congratulated Congress on the approach of the period at which they might interpose their authority constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all farther participation, in those violations of human rights which had so long continued on the unoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation and the best interests of our country had long been eager to proscribe. Although,” he added, “no law that you may pass can take prohibitory effect till the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which cannot be completed before that day.” During that session, that is to say, on the 2d March, 1807, a law was passed which prohibited the importation of slaves after the 1st January, 1808,—subjected vessels fitted out or sailing for the purpose of transporting them to any part or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, to seizure and condemnation in any of the circuit or district courts for the districts, where the vessels might be found seized—imposed a forfeiture of twenty thousand dollars on persons fitting out vessels to be employed in the slave trade, and of the vessels in which negroes had been transported—punished by imprisonment from five to ten years as well as by fine, the act of taking on ship-board negroes or mulattoes from the coast or kingdoms of Africa, and transporting and selling them as slaves—and authorized the President to employ armed vessels to cruise on any part of the coast, and to instruct their commanders to seize and bring in vessels, found on the high seas contrary the provisions of the law.*

* “We ought not,” says Mr. Walsh, (Appeal, 323,) “to overlook the circumstance, that these measures were taken by a Legislature composed in considerable part, of the Representatives of the slave-holding State.”

On the 3d March, 1819, another act was passed, giving the President power to employ the armed vessels of the United States, to cruise on the American coast or coast of Africa to enforce the acts of Congress prohibiting the slave trade, and requiring vessels engaged in the traffic of slaves to be seized and brought into port. The President was further authorized, to make regulations for the safe keeping, support, and removal out of the United States of the negroes that might be brought within their jurisdiction, and to appoint agents on the coast of Africa to receive them.

This act was preceded by a resolution, offered on the 1st March, 1819, by a member from the State of Virginia, and adopted without a division by the House of Representatives, which declared that "every person who should import into the United States, or knowingly aid or abet the importation of any African negro or other person for a slave, or should purchase any such slave, knowing him or her to be thus imported, should, on conviction thereof, be punished with death."

At the ensuing session of Congress the intention of that resolution was carried into effect, by the passage of an act declaring the slave trade to be piracy, and punishable with death.

These, I repeat, were the most effectual and decisive movements ever made among nations, for the suppression of the trade; and I take great pleasure in adding that the law of 1820 was recommended by a Committee of the House in a report founded on the memorial of the American Colonization Society.*

While Congress was deliberating on the last of these important measures, another event occurred to which, for a few moments, I solicit your attention.

In the month of February, 1820, a small vessel left the harbor of New York on a voy-

* The life of Wilberforce, written by his sons, contains a "Tabular view of the abolition of the slave trade." The following extracts from it may not be without interest.

"1787: Wilberforce avows his design of moving abolition—Abolition committee formed. 1788: Middle passage Bill. 1789-90: Examination of evidence and motion in Parliament. 1791: Sierra Leone company formed. 1792: Dundas's resolutions—Abolition carried in the House of Commons. 1793: House of Commons *refuses* to confirm its vote of the preceding year—Foreign slave trade bill rejected. 1794: Foreign slave trade bill passes the Commons, but is lost in the Lords. 1795: Motion for abolition rejected in the Commons by an increased majority. 1796: Motion for abolition introduced, but *lost* on its third reading. 1797: The new Parliament adopts Mr. Ellis's plan of leaving the question to the colonists—Motion for abolition *again lost*. 1798: Annual motion for abolition *again defeated*. 1799: Annual motion for abolition *again lost*. Slave trade limitation bill carried in the Commons. 1800-1: Motion for abolition deferred, in expectation of a general convention of European powers. 1802: Annual motion for abolition renewed. 1803: Annual motion postponed in consequence of the excitement of the expected invasion. 1804—Abolition carried in the Commons. 1805: Order in council extinguishes the trade to the new colonies. 1806: Abolition again carried in the Commons. *Foreign* slave trade abolished. 1807—[March 25.] British slave trade abolished—Sierra Leone company dissolved, and the settlement given up to government—African Institution formed. 1808: North American slave trade terminated." (*By a law passed, as we have seen, 2d March, 1807.*) "1810: The new government of Venezuela abolishes the slave trade. 1811: Slave trade made felony by Great Britain—Portugal renounces the trade out of her own territory—Chili abolishes. 1812: Buenos Ayres abolishes. 1813: Sweden abolishes. 1814: Denmark and Holland abolish. 1815: France abolishes—Portugal, on receiving a sum of money, abolishes to the North of the equator, and intimates that she will finally abolish in eight years. 1817: Spain, on receiving a sum of money, promises total abolition in 1820, to the North of the equator—Right of Search conceded by Portugal and Spain. 1818: Holland concedes the Right of Search. 1820: Slave trade declared to be piracy by Great Britain in a treaty with the Arabs on the Red Sea—AND BY THE UNITED STATES. 1822: The Spanish Cortes prohibits the slave trade. 1824: Slave trade made piracy by Great Britain."

age across the Atlantic. She was the American ship *Elizabeth*—her cargo, eighty-eight emancipated slaves—her place of destination, the Western coast of Africa. Her errand was not to discover a new continent—but to emancipate an old one. She was commissioned as the instrument—not of rapine and crime, but—of philanthropy, of religion and of peace. She went—not to snatch her offspring from the bleeding bosom of that injured continent,—but to restore to Africa a portion of her outcasts—not to invade and to conquer—not to ravage and destroy—not to pamper the superstitions of an idolatrous people—but to unfetter the human mind—to plant the standard of civilization—to lay the foundation of free and liberal institutions—to build temples to the living God. WHO PLANNED THE EXPEDITION? WHO CHARTERED THE *ELIZABETH*? WHO FURNISHED HER CARGO? The Government of the United States, or the government of any State or territory of the American Union? No, sir,—but private individuals—philanthropists—Western and Southern men—men reared under the institutions of American slavery—themselves slave holders—*they* were among the patrons of the noble enterprise. And now, without recounting the various expeditions of a similar kind which your Society has fitted out—allow me to say—that under the auspices of such men—under the patronage and control of a private association—with no other means of support than those which have been derived from the munificence of charitable individuals—with no other reliance for success than their own persevering, unabated, undaunted efforts—and the smiles of Heaven—from such a feeble beginning, in the course of twenty years, a colony has been planted, and is growing up on the African coast—a free, flourishing, happy colony of more than three thousand American emigrants, whose destiny, we trust, is beyond the reach of vicissitude,—and *that* the work, in great part, of American slave holders. Let the work proceed as it has commenced—let it proceed, until the population of Liberia shall have swelled to the number of ten or twenty or fifty thousand souls. Then if it shall be asked, what slave-holding America has done for the benefit of mankind—for the mitigation of the direful curse of slavery—for the melioration of the condition of the African race, we may turn to that scion of a noble stock—an American colony of emancipated slaves. We may tell of the obliteration of the foulest blot on the character of our age—the traffic in human flesh. We may point to idols prostrate in the dust—to the tall spires of Christian temples glittering in the sun—to altars at whose feet, thousands of worshippers bow before the Christian's, not the Pagan's God—to institutions founded on the basis of religion and of law—to a land teeming with the bounties of Heaven, and covered with memorials of industry and art—to a people educated, intelligent and free—in a word, to a continent rescued—or destined to be rescued—from the dominion of ignorance and barbarism and superstition and sin. *This* is a consummation worthy the ambition of every American philanthropist. I say nothing in this connexion of the eradication of slavery from our own soil. That is a subject of too much delicacy to be touched. But there are purposes connected with the operations of your Society, wholly independent of its influence upon our domestic institutions, sufficiently high and holy to rouse the efforts and animate the zeal of every man, who aspires to the glory of becoming a benefactor of his species. There are purposes connected with its operations, to the fulfilment of which we are prompted by other and higher motives, than those of personal or even national interest,—by our regard for the happiness of millions of our fellow men—by our desire to enlarge the boundaries of the empire of civil and religious freedom—by our love to God and man. If there be on earth a nation bound more than any other by imperious obligations of self protection and public policy—to say nothing of considerations of moral duty—to engage in an enterprise so full of benevolence and patriotism—

ours is that nation. Here in the midst of us—in a land consecrated by the struggles of our forefathers in the cause of liberty,—exist a people, between whom and ourselves there never can, in the nature of things, be any possible affiliation—a people, cut off, as well by the distinction of color, as by the immutable laws of social order, from all connexion or fellowship with ourselves—an inferior and degraded people—

“Steeped in poverty to the very lips;
Giv’n to captivity they and their utmost hopes,”

the descendants of an ancestry, as ignorant as themselves, torn by the hand of rapine from the embraces of their native land, and cast by our parent country upon her dependent colonies, against their consent and contrary to their vehement remonstrances,—of such a people, our tables of population inform us, there are two millions and a half within the limits of the American Union. Recognizing them in the light in which they are regarded by the constitution of the United States, and by the constitutions and laws of the States that tolerate slavery, they are private property. No human power can disturb by violence the tenure by which they are held. With them, therefore, the Colonization Society professes, in the utmost good faith, to have nothing to do.

But closely connected by ties of blood, and bound up with them in a common destiny, is another class, less numerous but equally degraded—of colored freedmen—to the efficacy of whose instrumentality in restoring their father-land, the attention of judicious and benevolent men has long been strongly directed. The same tables of population, to which I have referred, inform us that this latter class amounts in number to more than three hundred thousand souls. The proposition is to civilize Africa by colonizing *them*; and the question arises, can that object be accomplished? Is the achievement practicable? Is it within the compass of human agency, by the use of such means as the Society has resorted to, to establish and perpetuate a colony of colored freemen on the continent of Africa?

It is no part of my purpose to discuss those questions now. The discussion would conduct me into a wide field of speculation. I choose to resort to fact instead of argument. The fact then is, that such a colony *has been established*—established without any material agency of the government of the United States—by a private, association—with extremely limited resources, derived alone from the contributions of benevolent individuals—with a regularly constituted government—permanent, free, and, in regard to its political action, self-supported—a government of laws, enacted mainly by themselves and well adapted to their condition. Such a spectacle exists,—such a work has been accomplished,—and history furnishes no account of an enterprize conducted under such auspices with such signal success.

The remaining question of the practicability of perpetuating the colony, unless it receives the aid and co-operation of the constituted authorities of the United States, is one of great difficulty, and of the deepest interest. What *can* and what *ought* the government to do, in support of an enterprize so vast in its conceptions, so momentous in its results? I am fully aware of the delicacy of the question, and I shall treat it with extreme caution. I am not about to enter into an argument to show, that Congress has the constitutional power to appropriate money for the support, or to assume the direction and control of the affairs, of the Colony. It may be allowable, however, to suggest, that the time has been, when some of our highest functionaries, some of our wisest constitutional jurists, some of our most esteemed patriots, and some of the enlightened States of this Union, were of opinion that such a power was not denied by the constitution. I propose to speak of what Congress has the *acknowledged* authority to do, in connexion with that which, in the pursuit of a just and beneficent policy it *has* done, without impeachment and without distrust.

Sir, when the law of 1820, for the prohibition of the slave trade went into effect, strong hopes were entertained, that with the concurrence of the civilized nations of the earth, the detestable and inhuman traffic would no longer tarnish an era distinguished for its achievements for the benefit of mankind. But time has proved that those hopes were utterly delusive. At the very moment of my addressing you, the African slave trade is prosecuted to an alarming—nay, unprecedented extent. Never before in the history of the world have its ravages been so destructive of human life—so fraught with human wretchedness and woe. The mind recoils with dismay from the contemplation of the fearful truths, which a slight investigation of the subject discloses; but we owe it to ourselves to look them in the face.

I have said, that the extent of the trade is at this moment alarming and unprecedented. The celebrated historian of the West Indies, Bryan Edwards, computes the number of negroes that were imported, in British vessels, into all the British West Indian and American colonies, at an annual average of twenty thousand, from 1680 to 1786. In the debate in the House of Commons, on the 2d April, 1792, Mr. Fox said, "He thought the least disreputable way of accounting for the supply of slaves, was to represent them as having been convicted of crime by legal authority. What does the House think is the whole number of these convicts exported annually from Africa? *Eighty thousand.*" Mr. Pitt declared, in the same debate, that—"he knew if no evil that ever existed, nor could he imagine any evil to exist, worse than the tearing of *eighty thousand* persons annually from their native land, by a combination of the most civilized nations in the most enlightened quarter of the globe." In the year 1807, the number of Africans annually enslaved, was estimated at *sixty thousand*, and in 1817 at *two hundred and forty thousand*.

Such was the extent of the trade which invoked so strongly the interposition of the civilized world. To show what *it is*, I call your attention to a publication, which I have in my hand, of a gentleman of intelligence and distinction in England, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, entitled "The African Slave Trade, and its remedy." It brings the history down to the year 1840, and the developments it contains of the extent and enormity of the trade, are of a character so astounding, that, if it were not for the respectability of the source from which they come, they would startle us by their apparent exaggeration and defy belief.

Mr. Buxton sets out with the proposition, which he supports with official and documentary testimony, that upwards of 150,000 human beings are annually conveyed from Africa across the Atlantic, and 50,000 into the Mohammedan dominions.

His next resort is to statements and proofs of the *probable mortality* incident to the seizure of the victims—to the march to the coast and the detention there before embarkation—to the middle passage, and lastly, the mortality after landing at the place of destination, and in seasoning.

It is impossible for me to bring those statements and proofs in detail before you. I must content myself, after referring you to them, with the remark, that they exhibit "a complication of human misery and suffering," which has neither resemblance nor parallel in the annals of mankind.

Mr. Buxton thus sums up his calculations, after a thorough and candid examination of the facts adduced by him:

Of 1,000 victims to the slave trade— <i>One half</i> perish in the seizure,	-
march, and detention, -	500
Of 500 consequently embarked,	-
<i>One fourth</i> or 25 per cent perish in the middle passage, -	125
Of the remaining 375 landed— <i>One fifth</i> or 20 per cent. perish in the seasoning,	75
Total loss, -	700

So that 300 negroes only, or three tenths of the whole number of victims, remain alive at the end of a year after deportation: and the number of lives sacrificed by the system, bears to the number of slaves available to the planter, the proportion of seven to three.

Applying this calculation to the number annually landed at Brazil, Cuba, &c., which he rates at,

Of these one fifth die in the seasoning,	-	-	-	-	150,000
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					30,000
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					<u>120,000</u>
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The number of lives annually sacrificed being in the proportion of seven to three,

Annual victims of the slave trade,	-	-	-	-	280,000
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					<u>400,000</u>
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Proceeding in like manner with the Mohammedan slave trade, we find the numbers to be—

Exported by the Imaum of Muscat,	-	-	-	-	30,000
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Carried across the Desert,	-	-	-	-	<u>20,000</u>
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					50,000
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Loss by seizure, march and detention,	-	-	-	-	<u>50,000</u>
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Annual victims of Mohammedan slave trade,	-	-	-	-	100,000
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Christians,	-	-	-	-	<u>400,000</u>
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Annual loss to Africa,	-	-	-	-	<u>500,000</u>
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"It is impossible," says Mr. Buxton, "to reach this result, without suspecting, as well as hoping, that it must be an exaggeration.

"I have not however," he continues, "assumed any fact, without giving the data on which it rests; neither have I extracted from those data, any immoderate inference," but "have, in almost every instance, abated the deduction, which might with justice have been made." "If then we are to put confidence in the authorities which I have quoted, (most of them official,) we cannot avoid the conclusion—terrible as it is—that the slave trade annually dooms to the horrors of slavery,

(Christian,) -	-	-	120,000
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(Mohammedan,) -	-	-	<u>50,000</u>
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			170,000
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And murders, (Christian,) -	-	-	280,000
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(Mohammedan,) -	-	-	<u>50,000</u>
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			<u>330,000</u>
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Total,	-	-	-	-	<u>500,000</u>
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With these appalling facts presented to our view, Mr. President, what course does it become the Government of the United States to pursue? Since the year 1807, when first among the nations, its outstretched arm was wielded for the defence and protection of a down-trodden continent, the atrocities of the slave trade have been a thousand-fold increased—and millions upon millions of an unoffending people, in defiance of the laws of enlightened Christendom, have been doomed either to captivity or to death.

I repeat the question, what, under such circumstances, is it our duty to do? Shall we fold our arms and witness with cold and mute indifference, the laws of the nation trampled on and evaded; the feelings of humanity brutally insulted; the rights of men outraged without a blush? Or shall we nobly exert the powers given to us by the constitution, to exterminate those monsters in the form of men—those guilty destroyers of the innocent and helpless—those implacable enemies of the human family, who have renounced the protection of all laws, in the pursuit of their schemes of carnage and of crime? If the policy, in which your laws of 1807 and of 1820 had their origin, was really demanded by motives of honor, of benevolence, of justice and of patriotism; if the causes which superinduced your legislation upon the slave trade—a legislation that has conferred upon our country a glory as imperishable as its constitution, I trust, will be—

were so imperative then—how strongly are we impelled by a just regard to the national character, to persevere in that policy, until its wisdom and benignity shall be vindicated in the full accomplishment of its ends! Sir, for one, I think there is no receding with honor from the position we have taken; and so deeply am I impressed with a sense of our national responsibilities, that I do not hesitate to declare, humble as I am and incompetent as I feel myself to be, to the discharge of a duty so important in all its aspects, that if no one else shall be found to undertake it, I will bring the subject before the councils of the nation, and invoke their aid in arresting a traffic, which exists only by the sufferance of the great powers of the earth, and which, if it continue to exist, will render them accessaries to a crime, that will stain forever the character of the age in which we live.

Mr. M. then proceeded to submit an answer to the question he had propounded; what *can* and what *ought* the government of the United States to do, towards supporting the Liberian Colony? He did not insist on its direct interposition. However desirable *that* might be to the friends of Colonization, he did not think it indispensable to its success. There were two modes of giving it support, each of which was not only compatible with the constitutional powers of Congress, but was demanded, as he believed, by the consistency and honor, as well as by the interest of the nation.

The first mode was to provide the means of rigidly enforcing the laws for the abolition of the slave trade. The law of 1819, to which he had heretofore referred, contained provisions, authorizing the President to cause the armed vessels of the United States to be employed to cruise on the coast of Africa or elsewhere, where attempts might be made to carry on the slave trade—to make such regulations as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support and removal of recaptured Africans—to appoint an agent or agents to reside on the coast of Africa, for their reception there—and a bounty of twenty-five dollars was authorized to be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury, to the officers and crews of the commissioned vessels of the United States or revenue cutters, for every negro delivered to the agent appointed to receive them.

Mr. M. did not know that any systematic efforts were now made by the government to enforce these provisions. Without their enforcement, it was manifest the law was a dead letter; and it could be no matter of surprise, that the slave trade was prosecuted to the extent which had been shown. The whole efficiency of the law depended on the employment of the armed vessels of the United States on the African coast. If that were not done, its other provisions were nugatory. There could be no interception and seizure of piratical vessels—no recaptures of kidnapped negroes—no employment of receiving agents—and the proffered bounty to the officers and crews of the armed cruisers, which was designed as a stimulant to active exertions on their part, was wholly unavailing. Mr. M. was of opinion, that Congress ought to look to it, that these benevolent requirements of the law were enforced. We now have in service and on the stocks several steam ships of war, and it has been proposed to construct an additional number, which he hoped would be ordered before the adjournment of Congress. Nothing seemed to him more available than the employment of such vessels for the suppression of the slave trade. A single steamer cruising on the coast of Africa, would furnish security to a long line of that coast; and an avenue thus would be opened for the substitution of a lawful and profitable commerce for the subsisting commerce in flesh and blood.

The second mode to which Mr. M. had reference, was the introduction of this very commerce; and this brought him to speak of the benefits and advantages of an enlarged commercial intercourse with Africa. The opinion had been advanced by intelligent men, in the correctness of which Mr. M. concurred, that the surest corrective of the

slave trade would be found in substituting a legitimate commerce in its stead. The worthy and well informed gentleman, Dr. Hall, whose statement to the Convention had given so much satisfaction, and whose opportunities of forming a correct judgment entitled it to the highest credit and respect, has told you that the Africans are habitually a commercial people—that their personal agency in ministering to the slave trade is produced by their propensity to barter for the merchandise of the slaver—and that if that trade was abolished, mutual exchanges of their own productions for those of other nations, would necessarily ensue. To some extent these exchanges are now made. The present commerce of Africa is of much greater importance than is generally supposed, and it is rapidly increasing in value.* The principal benefits derived from it accrue to the nations of Europe, and especially to England. There had been no deliberate efforts to direct it into American channels. But it is stated by Dr. Hall, and indeed, no consequence could be more natural—that the establishment of the colonies of Liberia, stretching along a coast of three hundred miles, has already laid the foundations of a commerce with the United States, which was previously monopolized by European trading vessels and slave dealers.. Along the whole extent of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas, the slave trade has ceased—and the result has been, not only a less constrained intercourse with the natives, but a very extensive interchange of commodities, as well with the colonies as with foreign nations.

It would well become the Government of the United States to direct its earnest attention to a subject, with which its interests may be so speedily and intimately connected. The idea of securing to herself the advantages of the commerce of Africa is no new idea with Great Britain. For a series of years her policy has been marked by a strict regard to that object. The conferences of the Congress at Aix La Chapelle exhibit strong proofs of a common jealousy, on the part of the sovereigns of Europe, of her designs upon the African coast, and there is no absolute certainty, that her solicitude for the universal abolition of the slave trade, expressed by her minister on that occasion, may not have been attributable, in part, to her view “of the commercial advantages” to be derived “from the opening of a great continent to British industry.” It was said by Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons on the 11th of February 1818, that “in a commercial point of view, it was of incalculable advantage to have the supply of that large tract of country, from the Senegal down to the Niger, an extent of more than 7,500 miles, with the necessaries and gratifications which British manufactures and commerce afford.” The immense preparations lately made by her for the exploration and possession of the vast region tributary to the Niger, convey no ordinary meaning; and Mr. M. repeated, that it would be well for the United States, if these extensive movements would arrest the attention of the Government, and cause it to be directed to the facilities which the established colonies of Liberia would afford, for the acquisition of a commerce destined, sooner or later, to become of “incalculable advantage” to the people of this country.

In addition to the effect which an American naval force on the coast of Africa would have in arresting the progress of the slave trade, its employment in that direction would operate as an encouragement as well as protection to the commerce of the United States;

* The British Colony of Sierra Leone was settled in 1787. Its total population in 1836 was 37,463—of which number 105 were whites. The total value of exports in 1834, was £65,558, of which the amount to Great Britain was £51,231.

The imports from the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast, by *one* mercantile house in England, for the years 1832-'33, '34, amounted to £276,773. In 1839 the annual importations of palm oil was upwards of 12,000 tons, which at the market price of £28 per ton amounted to £336,000, giving employment to 14,000 tons of shipping.—*Martin's British Colonies*, pages 544 and 546.

and the infant colonies on the coast would derive, from the presence of such force in their neighborhood, a confidence of security which would strengthen them in their career to the maturity that awaits them.

These Mr. M. said, were his views very discursively expressed, and he would detain the Convention no longer, than to offer his acknowledgements for the attention with which they had listened to him.

Francis S. Key, Esq., made a few remarks in reference to the importance of the topics before the Convention, the deep interest of the statements just made, and his ardent desire that the meeting, before its final adjournment should adopt vigorous measures for the benefit of the cause and the colonies of Liberia. When time would allow, he would be happy to address the Convention in reference to some questions which merited its consideration, and he knew that they might hope for the aid of a distinguished senator from Virginia, now present.

On motion of Mr. Gurley, the Convention adjourned to meet the next evening at half past seven o'clock, in the Masonic Hall.

MAY 5th, 1842.

The Convention met in the Masonic Hall. Mr. Underwood again took the Chair.

Mr. Gurley rose and expressed the hope that the meeting would not be in haste to dispose of the matters before them, but patiently consider the immense importance of the subjects submitted—that they concerned the Union of these States—the highest interests of the two most numerous classes of persons in this country, indeed, the welfare of the population of two quarters of the world. Consider the intimate relations of the Colonization scheme to the prosperity of this country—to the suppression of the slave trade—to the civilization of Africa and the moral renovation, through Christianity, of her miserable inhabitants—the success of our African colonies, and also their wants and dangers, and we must feel its weight upon our consciences, and not lightly dismiss it from our thoughts. He would not occupy the time, for he saw before him the distinguished and eloquent senator from Virginia, (Mr. Rives,) who was ever disposed to give his support to every patriotic and philanthropic object, and who, like his honorable friend from Kentucky, whose speech had aroused the deepest sympathies of our nature the last evening, was able to do ample justice to the cause.

The Hon. Wm. C. Rives, then addressed the Convention in a speech replete with able argument, and eloquence of an order which high sentiments of patriotism and philanthropy only could inspire. We regret deeply our inability to present this speech to the public. Mr. Rives alluded to the transient nature of many of the political controversies, and party strifes of the day, when compared with the permanent and increasing beneficence and glory of a scheme adapted to raise the character and enlighten the prospects of a race of men, and bring a whole continent from barbarism to civilization and Christianity. He spoke of what he conceived to be an impossibility, the elevation of the colored race in the United States to social and political equality with the whites, deeming the obstacles in the way of such elevation too numerous and fixed to be overcome by any human power. He discussed at some length the doctrine of De Toque-

ville, that a social and equal union between two races so distinct as the white and colored was not to be expected—that to enjoy the highest privileges of freemen, our colored people must seek them in Africa. He believed Colonization to be a “great and fruitful idea,” and that in time its benefits would be spread abroad throughout vast districts of Africa, and voices of encouragement come and invite the return of her long exiled children. He spoke of the slave trade—and urged with great force the duty of our country to do its part towards its suppression, by affording countenance to our African settlements and maintaining a squadron to act in concert with those of other friendly powers, against it. He alluded to the pledge given by the distinguished senator from Kentucky, (Gov. Morehead) that he would move in the senate of the U. S. for the adoption of some efficient measure on this subject, and avowed his purpose earnestly to co-operate with that gentleman in so humane and noble a design. It was neither consistent with the justice or honor of this nation, to refuse the proposition of England on this subject, unless she proceeded in her own way, honestly and effectually, to aid in effecting the great end which the whole civilized world, were solemnly bound to see attained—the utter extinction of the African slave trade. He alluded to the late work of the Secretary of the Society (the “Mission to England”) as worthy of the deepest attention of all the Friends of the cause, and for its views on the whole subject before the Convention deserving to be everywhere read and considered. He was more deeply than ever impressed with the vast utility of the scheme of African Colonization and that it merited the favor and support of the States and the nation.

The speech was altogether worthy of the great reputation of the very able senator, and excited warm and universal applause.

F. S. Key, Esq., in a brief, but very earnest and effective speech, expressed his gratification that the two senators who had favored the Convention with their sentiments, had pledged themselves to move in the senate on the subject of the slave trade. It was time that this abominable commerce was put down. This could be done only in Africa, and he thought England and America should go together to the chiefs of Africa, and offering to them as a substitute for the traffic in the blood and sinews of their people, the articles they desired, to be paid for in the various rich products of their country, assure them that the slave trade must forever cease. Should they refuse to comply with this proposal, (which he could not believe possible,) let them be cut off from all friendly intercourse with both nations, their factories broken up, and their means of carrying on this trade be utterly destroyed. Then let these nations call upon Spain and Portugal utterly to abandon this trade, or expect the force of these great maritime powers to be arrayed against them. Their refusal would, in his view, be good cause for war.

The Rev. Dr. Parker, (missionary from China,) rose and said, that he had been requested to express his sentiments, and as a friend of man and the African race, he complied with this request. Yet, I never, (he observed,) rose to speak under a sense of so many reasons why I should be silent. For a number of years I have been in a measure secluded from the civilized world, and to a very considerable extent ceased from the use of my mother tongue, while I have been unaccustomed to address deliberative assemblies. If for these reasons I should venture only with delibera-

tion to speak before an ordinary assembly, how much more diffidence must I feel before judges, and honorable and eloquent members of Congress and senators of the United States. But if I am permitted to speak with reverence before the Judge of all the earth, surely with due modesty, I may speak, sir, in your presence, and in that also of the honorable and distinguished citizens around me. In the language of the ancient, I also will show mine opinion, for I have somewhat to say in God's behalf. Yes, sir, for it is not in behalf of man alone we speak when we advocate the claims of the American Colonization Society. *We plead the cause of God.* 'Tis His; for His spirit prompted its organization; His providence has furnished the distinguished men who have conducted its interests, and His blessing has crowned it with success. *It is truly God's.*

It resembles, in the first place, in its character, the morally sublime principle embodied in the British and Foreign Bible Society, uniting in its support men of all religious denominations and political creeds.

In regard to sundry objections urged against it—that it abets the cause of slavery, and is in coalition with those who desire to strengthen and perpetuate the servitude of the colored race; that it is inadequate to the end which it proposes to effect, I remark that its legitimate province is with the free and with those who may be manumitted and with the varied and imperious claims of the 100,000,000 or more of Africa, and that indirectly it operates with salutary power upon the great interests of our federal Union, and upon the African race at the South whatever may be their condition, and we should rejoice therein. If we concede the inadequacy of the scheme as a means of entire relief to the whole colored race, we maintain that it is good as far as it goes. You, sir, recollect the case of the ship *William Brown*, whose life boat was insufficient to save all the ship's company, and of which some were left to perish that a *part* might be saved. What had been the judgment of the whole world had those who controlled that boat refused to rescue as many as they were able, because they could not preserve all? If there be analogy in the cases, we say to those who would dash our life-boat to pieces, in the name of all that is sacred in a few lives, do it not. Let us save those we can, and give us the means and on the same principle and out of similar materials, we may construct an ark that shall save from the overflowing deluge of sorrow and oppression a large portion of all the African race.

Sir, I have intimated my conviction that a new and auspicious era has arrived in the history of the Colonization Society. The sentiments of the whole Christian world are ripe for measures in behalf of long injured Africa. There are indications of Providence to this effect on both sides of the Atlantic. The spirit animating the minds of Sir Thos. F. Buxton, J. J. Gurney and Dr. Hodgkin and the measures of the Earl of Aberdeen, show this in England. Sir, I look at home. The high and noble stand taken by those senators of the United States, who have instructed us by their *wisdom* and captivated us by their *eloquence* during this Convention show this, and was worthy of the men themselves and of the cause. I have no doubt, if these speeches are faithfully reported they will electrify the land as they did the assemblies who had the felicity to hear them. Yes, sir, they will pass throughout the Union and reverberate from the English and African coasts. In the halls, cathedrals and Parliament of Great Britain they will meet with cordial responses. If the Honorable

senator from Kentucky, (Gov. Morehead) should perform no other act, his eloquent address of the other evening was a work worth living for, and gives him a place among the distinguished benefactors of mankind. He will enjoy the consoling consciousness of having discharged a momentous duty to an afflicted and degraded portion of the children of our great common parent. He has shown the constitutional and legal right of Congress to do what may be necessary. We have already denounced the African slave trade as piracy, and affixed to it the penalty of piracy.

Much light had been shed on the early movements of Congress caused by the efforts of the friends of this cause in reference to the slave trade and the disposal of the recaptured Africans. He was glad to observe the resolution to call upon the State legislatures for assistance. Nothing would be more desirable and favorable than for these legislatures to make their appropriations to be expended under the directions of the American Colonization Society. Through this one broad and deep channel let the tributary streams flow.

We may congratulate the Honorable senator from Kentucky that he has so cordial and able a coadjutor in the senator from Virginia. Would that the sentiments of the North and East might respond with the eloquence and power we have heard from the South and West. True it is that warmer hearts and more liberal supporters are not to be found than exist in New England. I quote the words of Judge Daggett of New Haven, "if ever there was a Heaven-born institution, one whose founder and supporters were prompted by the purest motives, it is the American Colonization Society." The disclosures from the South which we have heard, confirm my faith in the Society and I delight to find the hearts of the friends of the cause beat in happier unison in regard to the great objects of the Society.

Dr. Parker then alluded to the great mortality occurring among the colored population going from the South to reside in our Northern cities, and spoke of the encouragement to be derived from the statements of Dr. Hall and the glorious prospects opening before those who went to Africa both to found a new empire and renovate an old one. He spoke of the claims of our commerce on the African coast, of the hitherto unfortunate attempts to suppress the slave trade which he deemed like the endeavor to pump out a leaking ship, when the leak itself might easily be stopped. Let us send men to civilize Africa — our steamers to break up the slave factories and the work will soon be done. He was impressed with the value of colonization from his long residence in Canton, where assembled merchants and travelers from all parts of the empire. Good influences must emanate from Liberia to all parts of Africa. The Rev. gentleman fervently invoked the divine blessing upon the institution.

Governor Morehead (of Kentucky) then rose and offered the following resolution which he supported briefly but ably.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society be requested by this Convention to prepare a memorial to the Legislatures of the several States of the Union, calling their attention to the present condition and prospects of the colonies on the West coast of Africa and soliciting their co-operation in the promotion of the scheme, by the appropriation of money or otherwise — That the memorials be forwarded to

the Governors of the several States with a request to lay the the same before their respective legislatures, and that this memorial be presented for the approbation of this Convention, at its next meeting.

This motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

The Convention adjourned to meet the next evening, in the same place at half past 7 o'clock.

(Proceedings of the Convention concluded in our next.)

VERY LATE FROM LIBERIA.

The schooner Herald, Goldsmith, arrived at Boston on Monday, from Messurado, Africa, whence she sailed on the 18th of April.

We have by this arrival, files of the Luminary to the 6th of April inclusive.

The Herald brought as passengers the Rev. Dr. E. Barron, from Cape Palmas, and the Rev. A. Constantine and lady, of the Liberia mission.

On the 15th of March the brig Grecian, Lawlin, arrived at Monrovia from Philadelphia, after a passage of forty-two days, including ten days spent at Sierra Leone. On board this vessel were the Rev. Squire Chase, (who has the temporary charge of the Methodist mission during the absence of the Rev. John Seys,) Rev. J. G. Pengree, Rev. Geo. S. Brown, and Mrs. Ann Wilkins, all belonging to the Methodist mission at Monrovia; the Rev. Mr. Payne and lady, Miss Chapin, and Miss Coggeshall, for Cape Palmas.

The Luminary of the 6th contains the address of the Rev. Mr. Chase, the new editor.

The concerns of the colony are in a flourishing condition. The colonists are at peace with the natives. The tribes in every direction receive the missionaries kindly, and manifest a great desire to receive instruction. "Such a willingness, (says the Luminary,) to hear 'God palaver,' in the native towns within and beyond the limits of the colonial territory, has never been witnessed before. Our brother E. Johnson, an old colonist and preacher, who has recently been some distance in the interior, to 'King Governor's Town,' assured us, at our late love-feast at Upper Caldwell, that wherever he went, he found some of the fruits of the work that had been wrought at Heddington and Robertsville, and all inquiring, 'when you go, bring dat God-palaver my town?' Oh that we had preachers and teachers to fill these open doors; but it is far otherwise. Who of all we have left behind will 'come over and help us?'"

The Luminary of March 4 contains an interesting and gratifying letter from Rev. B. R. Wilson, written at White Plains, whither he had gone to extend the mission. In company with Messrs. Johnson and Utridge, he had visited several towns, far in the forest, and found the people willing and even desirous to have missions established among them. Some difficulty was raised by the chiefs and kings, whose consent was finally given on condition that the missionaries did not interfere with their "Devil-bush" ceremonies, which they appeared to consider essential to the maintenance of their authority over the women. These last were very desirous that the missions should be allowed, hoping that they would soon do away with the "Devil-bush" and the system of polygamy. The preaching of the three missionaries was attended with the happiest results, and the Word seemed to establish itself with power.

Mr. Louis Sheridan has presented a neat frame chapel to the Methodist Episcopal Church at Bexley.

The Rev. Mr. Walker and lady, and Rev. Mr. Griswold, missionaries, sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, arrived at Monrovia on the 22d of January, in the schooner Herald, from Boston. These missionaries are intended as a reinforcement to the mission at Cape Palmas.

The Luminary says that the American Board intend to progress along the coast, south-eastwardly until they reach the Niger; where it is contemplated to have general head quarters in Africa.

On the 25th, in the Baltimore brig Harriet, arrived the Rev. Dr. Barron and Rev. Patrick Kelley, priests of the Roman Catholic order. They sailed two days after, in the same vessel, for Cape Palmas; where it is expected they will locate permanently, and organize a branch of the Roman Catholic Church.

A LARGE SHIPMENT OF SLAVES FROM NEW CESS.—A vessel sailed from New Cess (which is about seventy miles to the leeward from Monrovia,) a few days since, with the neat complement of two hundred and fifty slaves on board! This is just what

we expected—and the result of the operations which we detailed on this subject, in our last paper. It also corroborates all that we stated some months since, in an article headed “coming events cast their shadows before.”

The vessel which took off the above cargo is said to be an American vessel. She went into New Cess under American colors, and departed thence under the Portuguese flag! She was pursued by a British man-of-war, but made her escape.

What has become of the small American squadron which was stationed along this coast a year or two since? This coast swarms with American merchantmen, who have no protection except that afforded by British cruisers. This is humiliating, particularly when so much is said about British aggression.

THE MENDI MISSION.—It is said that the missionaries who came out with the Mendians have concluded to establish themselves at Sherbro (an island on the coast fifty miles south of Sierra Leone) and commence missionary operations there.

The anniversary of the Liberia Annual Conference Missionary Society was held on the 17th of January, at which *two hundred and eight dollars* were collected to aid the mission funds.—*Commercial Advertiser*.

MURDER OF A COLONIST BY NATIVES.—We are informed that a murder was perpetrated on the person of a colonist named Shuman, a week or two since, by the natives along the beach between Sinou and Settra-Kroo. Shuman was on his way down from Sinou, to the mission station of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, in search of labor. It is reported, that he had a small quantity of leaf tobacco with him, and refused to give it to the natives. That a scuffle ensued, and they shot him.

The natives in the vicinity of Sinou, on hearing this, armed themselves immediately and went down and demanded the murderers. They were given up, and are now at Sinou, in confinement, awaiting their trial. This is a strong fact in favor of the desire on the part of the Sinou natives to acknowledge colonial authority.

DOINGS OF THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE.—We mentioned in our last the formation of circuits by the Liberia Mission Annual Conference, at its recent session in this town. The first circuit is named Heddington, Robertsville and Pessah, and includes Heddington, Robertsville, and all the native towns and settlements in that region. It is intended that two preachers shall be placed on this circuit, to reside, the one at Heddington, the other at Robertsville. They will have the oversight of the Societies at these places, and are to perform regular trips around their circuit, and preach to the natives, and instruct their children, as far as their mode of operations will admit. Simon Peter and Samuel Luckey, who are converted natives and licensed exhorters, will accompany the preachers severally and interpret and assist to enlighten such as may be willing to hear and receive the Word.

The Pessah country lies in the rear of Heddington and Robertsville; and is a most interesting and inviting field for missionaries. It is in this part that most of our native converts reside; and they have carried the news of the Word of Life back to their distant towns, and have created no little anxiety and desire to have the Gospel carried still farther back. The regular day schools at Heddington and Robertsville will be discontinued; and all the native youths who are connected with the mission will be placed at White Plains, where they will have the full benefit of a manual labor school.

Marshall and Junk river circuit includes Marshall, the native settlements around that place, and those immediately on the Junk river. This circuit is well provided for, in the person of the Rev. Daniel Ware, who is stationed on it. The school is supplied with a competent female teacher.

The third and last circuit is the Bassa Cove and Mechlin river. It is intended to include Bassa Cove, and the native towns on the Mechlin river. The Mechlin river is a considerable stream which empties itself into the St. John's river, at Edina; about a fourth of a mile from the St. John's mouth. Mechlin river is thickly settled along its banks, by populous native towns and settlements. They are generally able to speak broken English, and in nearly all cases, can understand it.

These people are desirous of having Christian instruction; and it is thought that more good will be attained by sending them stated preachers, than by keeping up a regular week day school at Bassa Cove; particularly, in view of the Factory Island School, of which we have been hearing for five years, and which is said to be temporarily commenced in Bassa Cove.

The following, among other resolutions, was passed on the last morning of the Conference:

Resolved, That this Conference join in prayer for the person and family of the Rev.

John Seys, Superintendent of the Liberia Mission of the M. E. church, all of whom are in the United States of America.—*Africa's Luminary*, Feb. 18.

THE WHALER CRAWFORD, OF WARREN, R. I.—The whale brig Crawford, of Warren, Rhode Island, Captain A. Pickens, came into this port on the 26th ult., in a partially disabled condition.

The Crawford is on what may be termed, an exploring whaling voyage, along the coast of Africa. She has captured three whales; one at the Western Islands, and two near the Canary Islands; averaging thirty five barrels of oil each. On Thursday morning the 23d ult, the Crawford was overtaken by a thunder squall, which struck her, and destroyed her main-top-gallant-mast, and main-top-mast.—*Africa's Luminary*, Jan. 7.

CAPE PALMAS—LATE ADVICES.—By the schooner Herald lately arrived from Cape Palmas, the Board of Managers of the Maryland Colonization Society have received intelligence from the Colony at Cape Palmas as late as April 7th.

The brig Harriet, which sailed from this port last winter with emigrants for the Colony, arrived safely on the 30th January. The gratifying information is now received that all of the new comers have recovered from the acclimating fever. The period of confinement in each case seems to have averaged about a week; and so experienced and skilful has Dr. McGill, the colonial physician, become, in the treatment of the fever, that this preliminary to a residence in Africa is now regarded as a small matter.

The total number of deaths in the Colony during the last year was sixteen; births, twenty-three. The prevalence of an epidemic dysentery in September and October last increased the mortality above the usual average. The general health of the Colony will compare favorably with that of the most healthy place in the United States.

Governor Russwurm states in his despatches to the Board, that a French squadron consisting of three vessels of war appeared some time since on the coast, and that a purchase has been made by the French Government of Grand Bassa Point, Butaw and Garraway, adjacent to the colonial territory. It is probable that the increasing importance of the African trade has induced this step on the part of France. Or it may be that the necessity of having armed vessels on the coast to aid in suppressing the slave trade, and to prevent the abuse of her flag—a duty which will the more especially devolve upon her in case of a decided refusal to join in the Quintuple treaty—has seemed to render it advisable to have a French station on the coast. But whatever the reason may be, or the ultimate object, the fact itself is worthy of attention. Perhaps it may be found expedient for our own Government to recognise the American colonies already established on the shore of Western Africa, and to extend protection and encouragement to them for the sake of the great advantages that might be derived from them hereafter in many ways.

To return to the affairs of our Maryland Colony—it appears that the misunderstanding which arose some time ago between the colonial authorities and some of the Missionary establishments respecting a question of jurisdiction, has been happily prevented from causing serious difficulty. Gov. Russwurm says:—"Never has the state of affairs been more pleasant, so far as the colonists are concerned; never has the power of the Society been so freely acknowledged by all who dwell within its borders; and never has your agent felt so free to act in all matters where the interests of the Colony were at stake. We pray God that he would continue this state—that he would enlighten all our hearts—and as we live in one land, that he would give us charitable feelings towards each other."

The following passage of Governor Russwurm's letter announces the death of an excellent man, whose loss is greatly to be deplored:

"I grieve to inform you of the decease of Mr. Revey, our late able Secretary, on the 14th ult., after a lingering sickness of several months. In vain I turn my eyes to every quarter of Liberia for another. The idea is painful that we have not an individual to fill his place. It is now upwards of twenty-one years since he came to Africa, in the first expedition, only sixteen years old, with an imperfect education, such as the New York free schools for colored children afforded. He was one of the most unpretending men on the face of the earth, and to a common observer the diamond that was within would escape notice. But John Revey was one of nature's noblemen, though sable his skin; and he leaves a whole community in tears at his untimely death."

Mr. Revey, in addition to his duty as Colonial Secretary, officiated as pastor of the first Baptist church at Cape Palmas. He had studied, and not without success, to remedy the deficiencies of an imperfect education, for the purpose of qualifying himself for the ministerial function for which the virtues of his character seemed to adapt him in a peculiar manner. He was a man of very respectable attainments. At a meeting

of the Board on Friday last the following resolution offered by William Crane, Esq., and accompanied by some appropriate remarks, was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That this Board have heard with great regret of the death of John Revey, late Colonial Secretary of Maryland in Liberia, whose worth as a man and whose value as an officer have long been equally appreciated by his fellow-citizens and by the State Society.—*Baltimore American*.

COLONIZATION MEETING.—At a meeting of the Directors of the Louisiana State Colonization Society held on Thursday, 19th May, 1842, Rev. Dr. Wheaton was appointed Chairman, and Mr. John S. Walton, Secretary.

A report having been made by Rev. W. McLain in relation to the purchase of territory on the Sinou river, In Africa, it was unanimously

Resolved, 1. That we approve of the purchase of the Blue Barre territory made by the American Colonization Society, for the benefit of the Louisiana State Colonization Society, according to the terms and conditions stated by Rev. W. McLain.

Resolved, 2. That we will establish a colony on the Blue Barre territory, to be called Louisiana in Liberia.

Resolved, 3. That we have learned with sentiments of the highest gratification that our fellow-citizen, JOHN McDONOUGH, Esq. has offered to the Parent Society eighty-five of his slaves, if the Society will send them to Liberia, where we have reason to believe they will become useful residents.

Resolved, 4. That we consider this a most auspicious time to lay the foundation of our colony; and we most respectfully request Mr. McDonough to give his consent to have the emigrants he is about to send out located in Louisiana in Liberia.

Resolved, 5. That the settlement or town be called McDonough.

Resolved, 6. That a public meeting be held on Tuesday evening next at 8 o'clock, in the Methodist Church, on Poydras, to hear a report from the agent of the American Colonization Society on the State of the Colony in Africa, and addresses from other gentlemen.

Resolved, 7. That the proceedings of this meeting be published in two papers of this city.

JOHN S. WALTON, *Secretary*.

N. S. WHEATON, *CHAIRMAN*.

SOUTHERN AFRICA.

The intelligence from Southern Africa, given in the *Missionary Herald* for the present month, is of a highly encouraging character. Rev. Mr. Lindley has been called to the pastoral office among the Dutch emigrants. He at first declined the call, but it was renewed and urged by the people, the officers of the church, and their chief magistrate. The members of that mission were of the opinion that he ought to accept. There are from 8,000 to 12,000 emigrants. They had no minister and no prospect of obtaining any one except Mr. L. It is of great importance, both to them and to missionary operations in that part of Africa, that Christian institutions should be planted among them. Under these circumstances Mr L. accepts the call conditionally, with the entire concurrence of the Committee of the A. B. C. F. M.

STATIONS AMONG THE ZULUS.—The Rev. Mr. Grant commenced a station among the Zulus at Inkanyezi in May, 1841, about one hundred miles from any fellow laborer and from any civilized human being. There were thirty-seven villages in the vicinity of the station, and about 300 people attend his services on the Sabbath.

AT PORT NATAL.—Dr. Adams states in a letter dated October 20, 1841, that during the last winter he had more than twice as many people at his services as attended the previous winter. "Our congregations were never before so large as they now are." The winter months at Port Natal, the reader will recollect are June, July, and August. The mission is exerting an influence over a population of 10,000.—*Observer*.

EXPEDITION FOR LIBERIA.—The ship *Mariaposa* sailed from New Orleans, on the 11th, with one hundred emigrants, and is to touch at Norfolk, where a still larger number are assembled. A more interesting or promising body of emigrants never left our shores. Let every church and congregation in the United States now remember the cause.

THE TWO EXTREMES.

Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, the editor of the abolition journal, the *Liberator*, goes for an immediate dissolution of the *Union*. At a late meeting of the Essex (Mass) anti-slavery Society, he moved, among others, the following resolutions:—

“*Resolved*, That the American Union is and ever has been since the adoption of the Constitution, a rope of sand—a fanciful nonentity—a mere piece of parchment—a rhetorical flourish and splendid absurdity—and a concentration of the physical force of the nation to destroy liberty, and uphold slavery.

“*Resolved*, That the safety, prosperity, and perpetuity of the non-slave-holding States require that their connexion be immediately dissolved with the slave States in form, as it is now in fact.

“*Resolved*, That the petition presented to the U. S. House of Representatives, by John Q. Adams, from sundry inhabitants of Haverhill, in this county, praying Congress to take measures for a peaceful dissolution of the Union, meets our deliberate and cordial approval.”

A writer in the *Natchez Free Trader* on the contrary, considers the African race, constituted by nature and pre-destined by Heaven for slavery, so that it is a sin to labor with a view to any ultimate elevation of their condition, or to open before them the way to a better inheritance. Colonization doctrines will be confirmed by the pressure of such extremes—and like the *Union* stand stronger, more commanding, and more beneficent, amid these extravagant and warring opinions.

CONTRIBUTIONS to the *Pennsylvania Colonization Society*, from
April 21st, to May 21st, 1842, inclusive.

April 21st, 1842, E. W., A. P. W., each \$1, G. B. Wood \$5, Cash \$1, -	8 00
“ 22d, A. Perkins, W. H. Dillingham, each \$5, Cash \$1, -	11 00
“ 23d, T. P. Sherborne, J. H. Earle, each \$1, W. H. Winder \$5, -	7 00
“ 25th, S. Woodward \$5, S. Wells, R. Stotsbury, each \$1, -	7 00
“ 26th, James Dunlap, J. F., C. Cresson, H. Cope, each \$5, -	20 00
May 4th, G. Gardom, annual subscription to Society for 1842, \$2, John Elliott \$5, Dr. Darrach \$10, -	17 00
“ 11th, H. C. Blair \$5, Mrs. Jane S. Dickey of Oxford, \$1, -	6 00
“ 15th, Miss Stewart \$5, the Benevolent fund of the New London Presbyterian Congregation, Chester county, per Rev. Robert P. Du Bois, Pastor, \$10, -	15 00
“ 20th, Donation of J. J. McLanahan, Esq., -	20 00
“ 21st, Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of <i>New Brunswick</i> , N. J., -	100 00
“ “ Daniel McIntyre, 4th instalment, -	100 00
	<hr/> 311 00

CONTRIBUTIONS to, and receipts by, the *American Colonization Society*, from the 24th April, to the 24th May, 1842.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Per Capt. George Barker, Agent:	
<i>Peterboro</i> , H. T. Cogswell, -	1 00
<i>New Ipswich</i> , Eleazer Brown \$5, William Dinnworth \$5, Mrs. Everett \$2, Joseph Barrett \$1, Polly Warner 25 cts., -	13 25
<i>Dover</i> , Dr. Ezra Green, -	4 00
<i>Mason</i> , Rev. Ebenezer Hill, -	1 00
<i>Durham</i> , George Frost, -	1 00
<i>Hanover</i> , Dartmouth College Colonization Society, per Jno. Tenny, Treasurer, -	5 00
	25 25

RHODE ISLAND.

Pawtucket, The money reported in a former number, collected by the Rev. Samuel Cornelius, (\$30.) was contributed to constitute the Rev. Alanson Taft, a life member.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Per Capt. George Barker, Agent:		
<i>Springfield</i> , Hon. W. B. Calhoun in behalf of Simeon Sanborn, Esq., \$10, Miss Harriet Stebbins, \$5,		15 00
<i>Fitchburg</i> , Daniel Messenger \$1, Justin Estearn 50 cts., John Dale \$1, Lydia Boutell \$1 50, Lucy Davis \$2, Deborah B. Thurston 25 cts., Abel Simonds \$1, J. F. Farwell \$1,		8 25
<i>Ashburnham</i> , J. Jewett \$1, Mrs. Cutte 50 cts., Lavinia Grout, \$1,		2 50
<i>Ashby</i> , E. Callinan 50 cts., P. Haywood \$1, Mary Kendall, A. Taylor, Ellen Taylor, A. Taylor, Saml. Kendall, each 25 cts., Joseph Haywood \$1, Isaac Catch 50 cts., C. Wellington 25 cts., R. Willington 25 cts., William Whiting 25 cts., Paul Haywood 50 cts., S. Jones 50 cts.		6 00
<i>Townsend</i> , Jothan Richardson 50 cts., Polly Adams 25 cts.,		75
<i>Groton</i> , Mrs. Mary Woodsbury \$1, Mrs. H. L. Goodell \$1, Deacon Lawrence, \$1,		3 00
<i>Bedford</i> , Mrs. Elizabeth Stearns, \$1,		1 00
<i>Lexington</i> , Deacon James, 50 cts.,		50
<i>Brighton</i> , Miss Sally Worcester, 50 cts.,		50
<i>South Berwick</i> , Rev. B. R. Allen, \$1, Hon. Wm. Height \$5, Mrs. Morton 50 cts., J. Hubbard \$2, Deacon J. Plum \$3, Miss Mary Leight, Miss Salmone B. Leight, Miss Susan P. Leight, each \$1,		14 50
<i>Wells</i> , M. Fisk 10 cts., William Gooch \$1, Seth Hatch \$1, Dr. E. M. Moore 50 cts., Capt. Ezra Pope \$1, J. Goodwin 25 cts., H. Eaton 50 cts., G. Bean 25 cts., J. Littlefield 12½ cts., S. M. Mel- len \$1, Capt. Hartley \$1, S. N. Scammour \$1, Deacon Merritt \$1 50, J. Calef, Esq. \$5, Tristram Jordan \$1, Dr. Done 50 cts., John Rankin \$1,		16 72
<i>Searsboro</i> , Seth Slove, E. Libby, each \$1, a Friend 50 cts.,		2 50
<i>Hatfield</i> , Oliver Smith, Esq., donation,		30 00
Received of Rev. Dorus Clark, late agent:		
<i>Lowell</i> , J. Aiken, Esq., for life membership \$30, J. Clark, Esq., do. \$30, from other gentleman \$47,	107 00	208 22

NEW YORK.

<i>New York City</i> , White and Sherfield, donation,	44 92	44 92
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PENNSYLVANIA.

Rev. James Snodgrass,	10 00	10 00
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KENTUCKY.

<i>Painsville</i> , H. C. Hart, donation, L. M.,	44 92	
<i>Frankfort</i> , Judge Mason Brown, donation,	3 50	
Collections by Rev. Samuel Williams:		
<i>Lancaster</i> ,	2 87½	
<i>Richmond</i> ,	13 75	
<i>Winchester</i> , \$5 62½, Rev. S. Covell \$5, Mrs. Epps \$2,	12 62½	
<i>Lexington</i> ,	38 00	
<i>Lebanon</i> ,	8 75	
<i>Springfield</i> ,	9 87½	
<i>Bethel Church</i> ,	13 50	
<i>New Albany, Indiana</i> ,	19 43¾	
<i>Louisville</i> , in part,	86 00	253 23

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

<i>Arlington</i> , Donation from a friend by the hand of Mrs. Custis,	10 00	
<i>Washington</i> , Collection at the Rev. Mr. Rich's church,	14 00	
Donation by the Rev. Mr. Bulfinch, pastor of the Unitarian church,	10 00	
Donation by Mrs. Dent,	5 00	
do by John B. Fry, Esq.,	5 00	
Thomas B. Lock, by the hand of the Rev. Mr. Bulfinch,	5 00	
Donation by James Ingle, Esq.,	10 00	
do by Dr. McKnight,	5 00	74 00
Rev. E. G. Smith, per Hon. Henry L. Ellsworth,	10 00	

VIRGINIA.

Returns made by Rev. Saml. Cornelius, Agent:

<i>Norfolk</i> , James D. Johnson, donation, \$12, Souter & Bell, S. W. Pall, C. R. Stribin, Esqs., each \$10, James D. E. Cornis, B. Emerson, G. W. C., W. H. Thompson, R. C. Galbuth, Richard Capron, R. Walkes, W. W. Sharp, T. Taylor, Capt. C. W. Skinner, E. S. Pegram, Charles Reid, J. Ridley, Robt. Soutter, B. Palland, Ezra T. Sommers, J. G. C., John Williams, Robert Soutter, jr., & Co., Mrs. E. B. Pollard, A. Milhado, James Furgason, Alex. Galt, R. Henman, Mrs. John Taylor, each \$5, H. C. Rabb, Mrs. Martin, each \$4, William W. Lamb, G. B. Cook, A. Lenord, Capt. B. C. Redon, each \$3, Mr. Price, W. H. Smith, W. S. Malory, Mr. Nash, L. Sinclair, G. Halson, G. Reid, J. Gromley, Seth March, Rev. Mr. Bucktrout, R. E. Taylor, Mr. D. Bree, R. L. Page, W. H. Taylor, each \$2, R. D. Bunas, Mr. Forquair, Mr. Watlington, W. Ward, Mr. Seabury, S. Parks, G. B. Roland, Mr. Whitehead, Mr. Stickler, Wm. Stevens, M. Davis, Mr. Briggs, Mr. Benton, Mr. Higgins, Haines & Goodrich, Mr. Bernard, M. Salisbury, J. Leigh, Mr. Farquair, F. F. Furgason, J. Mills, W. D. Lacy, J. H. Johnson, C. L. Rockwell, Mr. Woodard, Sarah Ingham, W. H. Barrett, P. Burris, J. Spangler, Mr. Gurich, Mr. Barmand, W. Peet, Dr. Williams Moore, R. C. Balcoys, Mrs. Waddy, E. Sayer, Dr. Rogers, G. Royal, James Mitchell, each \$1, E. Roberts, Mr. Sanford, Mr. Gray, Mr. Kemp, Mr. E. Lallarmer, C. Spanow, S. Barron, A. Grimes, Mr. Balsom, S. Butt, J. R. Ashby, E. S. March, each 50 cts., W. N. Lamb \$1 50 cts., E. White 25 cts., Mr. Mathews, L. J. Johnson, each 37½ cts., Collections by Rev. J. Mitchell \$6 40, Methodist Episcopal church \$9 06, Cash from several gentleman and ladies, \$54 75,	331 71
<i>Portsmouth</i> , Rev. J. Davis, Arthur Emerson, Wm. Benthall, each \$5, John Talbart, Mrs. D. Schoolfield, A. Chandler, each \$2, Thos. Rudd, L. Owens, Mr. White, J. Toomer, W. G. Webb, Col. Langhom, Mary Wilson, J. Ceecke, each \$1, collection in Methodist Episcopal church \$10 90,	39 90
<i>Hampton</i> , W. Massinburg, Robert Armstead, R. Hudgings, A. Booker, J. M. Willis, each \$1. Collections at Baptist Meeting house, \$18 34,	23 34
<i>Fortress Monroe</i> , Capt. Saml. McKensie, by the Rev. M. L. Chevers, \$20, Dr. Archer, Capt. Huger, each \$5, A. J. McCort \$2, Lieut. Hagner \$6, Capt. Timothy Green, Mrs. Vallery, each \$1, J. W. Dewees, 50 cts.,	40 50
<i>Leesburg</i> , John Gray, William H. Gray, F. W. Luckett each \$5, Jno. Janney \$2, A. S. Tebbs \$4, Mrs. Smart \$1, collection in Methodist church 75 cts.,	22 75
<i>Winchester</i> , D. W. Barton \$10, Strother Jones, Rev. W. M. Atkinson, each \$5, Loyd Logan \$3, J. N. Bell \$2 50, C. H. Clark \$2, T. Tidball, Obed Waite, Miss R. Y. Conrad, each \$5, Nathan Bent, Rev. J. E. Jackson, each \$2, Mrs. Russell, Rev. J. Baker Wm. L. Clark, Dr. McGuire, P. Bush, Miss Gallaway, Mrs. Tidball, each \$1, Phil. Williams, \$5,	58 50
<i>Newtown</i> , J. Niell, R. Niell, Dr. Lynn, each \$2, collections in Lutheran church \$1,	7 00
<i>Middletown</i> , J. Miller \$2, collections \$1 60,	3 60
<i>Strasburg</i> , Cyrus Spanger, Benjamin Spanger, each \$2, A. Keister, Isaac Hern, Dr. Brinker, G. B. Bowman, each \$1, Dr. O'Neil, J. Hotinam, Mr. Zea, Mr. Grove, P. Byers, each 50 cts., Mrs. Fees 25 cts., S. Kendrick \$1,	11 75
<i>Front Royal</i> , M. Cloud, J. B. Cloud, C. Hendrick, A. Funnell, E. Funnell, William Cook, S. Reel, M. B. Buck, William Richardson, J. R. Richards, S. Newcome, N. M. Jacobs, J. Trout, R. Turner, Isaac Trout, each \$1, F. W. Cohlhausen, J. B. Petty, J. Mekary, each 50 cts., T. Buck \$1 50, collections \$2,	20 00
<i>Clarks county</i> , W. C. Kerfoot, G. L. Kerfoot, Rev. Thos. Kinnerly, each \$5,	15 00
<i>Paris</i> , H. K. Green \$4 45, W. Pierce \$1, D. W. Arnold, J. Royster, each 25 cts.,	5 95

<i>Fredericksburg</i> , William Allen, W. N. Wellford, M. F. Maury, Bassill Gordon, Marry Forbes, Saml. Phelps & son, each \$5, George Rawe, Rev. E. C. McGuire, each \$2 50, Mrs. Miner \$3, John Scott, R. Moncure, John Metcalf, Mrs. Little, each \$2, Mrs. E. B. Vass \$1 50, R. Thom, H. M. Patton, Rev. J. Collier, Agnes Suttle, Miss A. Maury, Mrs. Blackford, Catherine Lomax, Ann Turner, Eliza Turner, Louisa Hooe, Mrs. Lomax, F. H. Harrison, Benj. Hall, jr., P. Hough, each \$1, Joseph Sanford, H. Wallace, each 50 cts., Cash \$2 25, collections Baptist church, \$3 90,	68 65		
<i>Petersburg</i> , A. G. McIlvane, (life member,) \$30, David Dunlop, \$15, two friends of the Society each \$10, Thomas Branch \$5 50, Dr. J. May, General Butts, Rev. Mr. Leyburn, C. F. Fisher, John Donnan, George Dunn, Daniel Lyon, R. Leslie, each \$5, W. Corling \$3, R. Ritchie \$3 50, Lemuel Pebels, Adolphus, Petecolas, J. McIlvane, T. W. Bradbury, Mrs. P. Dunn, each \$2, F. Armistead, M. Lowe, Mrs. Botts, Rev. Mr. Cobb, Thos. Shore, R. K. Taliaferro, John Woodhouse, Mrs. E. C. Cuthbert, F. Follett, Mr. Head, F. Pace, J. Stebbins, John Rowlett, A. S. Archer, A. L. Archer, each \$1, Mr. Dunwell 25 cts., cash from several \$14, C. J. Gibson, \$3, Mrs. Robbins 50 cts., Thomas S. Gahlson, E. H. Ousborne, each \$5, James Orr \$2,		171 75	820 40

O H I O.

<i>Springfield</i> , Female Colonization Society, per Miss Ann Wardell,	25 00		
<i>Green county</i> , Auxiliary Col. Soc., per James Gowdy, Treasurer,	20 00	45 00	
Total Contributions,	\$1,481 02		

FOR REPOSITORY.

From April 20th to May 20th, 1842.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.— <i>Alexandria</i> , John Roberts, from '41 to '43 \$5;			
<i>Washington</i> , Dr. Bradley, for '42, \$2,		7 00	
VIRGINIA.— <i>Winchester</i> , Mr. Blunt, for '41 \$2; <i>Fredericksburg</i> , Mrs. E. B. Vass, for '42 \$1 50; <i>Petersburg</i> , Robert Richie for '42 \$1 50, A. Petacolas for '41 & '42, \$3, Rev. Mr. Lunan for '42, \$1 50, T. W. Bradbury for '40 & '41 \$3, Thomas Branch for '41, \$4 50, Mrs. J. M. Herndon, for '42, \$1 50, <i>Portsmouth</i> , John A. Chandler for '41 and '42, \$3, <i>Richmond</i> , Miss Kitty S. Minor, <i>Cross Roads</i> , <i>Louisa county</i> , paid \$1 50 last August for '41, not before acknowledged,		21 50	
NORTH CAROLINA.— <i>Bethany</i> , Rev. John Williams for '42,		1 50	
KENTUCKY.— <i>Frankfort</i> , Judge Mason Brown for '42,		1 50	
GEORGIA.— <i>Bryan county</i> , Thos. S. Clay, Esq., donation,		20 00	
OHIO.— <i>Norwalk</i> , Library of Religious Knowledge, for '43, \$1 50, Prudden Alling, \$1 50,		3 00	
For Repository,	54 50		
Total Contributions,	1,481 02		
Total,	\$1,535 52		

NOTICES.

☞ THE Office of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society in Philadelphia, is in Walnut street, four doors above 6th, up stairs, where the friends of the cause are invited to call.

☞ ALL BUSINESS relating the African Repository in Pennsylvania should be addressed to Rev. J. B. PINNEY, Philadelphia.

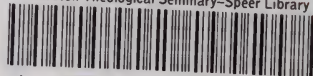


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